

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON MEETING JULY 7, 1976 (SALT TWO-1051)

1. AT TODAY'S MEETING SEMENOV MADE STATEMENT REPEATING THEIR POSITION ON HEAVY BOMBERS, DURING COURSE OF WHICH HE STATED THAT OTHER CONFIGURATIONS OF THE BEAR AND THE BISON "CANNOT BE USED FOR DELIVERING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS OR BE ADAPTED FOR SUCH USE; MOREOVER, THE VERY CONCEPT OF SUCH REBUILDING IS IRRATIONAL." WITH RESPECT TO ICBM LAUNCHER DEFINITION, HE REPEATED THEIR POSITIONS OF MAY 26, 1972, DATE, "TYPE AND "FOR EXAMPLE" IN OUR DRAFT AGREED SBJTEMENT.

2. I MADE STATEMENT TABLING OUR MIRV VERIFWIPACKAGE AND STATEMENT ON DATA BASE, DURING THE COURSE OF WHICH I URGED THAT AS FIRST STEP WE IMMEDIATELY BEGIN DISCUSSIONS OF CATEGORIES AND NUMBERS BASED ON CURRENT PROPOSALS FOR JDT WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE POSITIONS ON UNRESOLVED ISSUES. I SAID THAT I RECOGNIZED THAT UNDERTAKING SUCH AN EFFORT "WOULD NOT RESULT IN A COMPLETE AND FINAL VERSION OF A COMMON DATA BASE UNTIL AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON ALL RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF

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THE JDT; BUT THIS WOULD GIVE BOTH PARTIES AN OPPORTUNITY TO

DEAL WITH QUESTIONS WHICH COULD GIVE RISE TO AMBIGUITIES OR MISUNDERSTANDINGS OVER INTERPRETATION OF PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT."

3. DURING OUR PRIVATE MEETING I EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT OVER LACK OF PROGRESS IN OUR DISCUSSION YESTERDAY ON WORD "TYPE" IN ICBM DEFINITION. HE TOOK OFF ON AN EXTENDED DISCUSSION OF BOMBER VARIANTS, DURING COURSE OF WHICH HE TRIED TO TIE ME DOWN TO STATING THAT IT WAS ONLY TANKERS THAT WERE AT ISSUE. IN REPLY TO MY RESPONSE THAT I COULD NOT AGREE THAT ASW AND RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT WERE NOT ALSO ISSUE, BUT TANKERS WERE MORE DIFFICULT PART OF PROBLEM, HE SAID THAT "HE HAD HEARD" THAT WE CONSIDER TANKERS TO BE THE PROBLEM. IN RESPONSE TO HIS QUESTION ON OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD A LIMITATION ON TANKERS, I SAID OUR APPROACH TO THIS QUESTION WAS NOT BASED ON SEEKING TO ESTABLISH LIMITATIONS ON SOVIET RECONNAISSANCE, ASW OR TANKER AIRCRAFT, BUT SOLELY ON HEAVY BOMBERS, AND THAT PROBLEM AROSE OUT OF DIFFICULTY OF DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THESE VARIANTS AND JUDGEMENT OF OUR EXPERTS ON SOVIET ABILITY RAPIDLY TO CONVERT VARIANTS, ESPECIALLY TANKERS INTO HEAVY BOMBERS. IN RESPONSE TO HIS QUESTION ON MY ATTITUDE TOWARD THEIR PROPOSAL FOR A BAN ON CONVERSION OF TANKERS TO HEAVY BOMBERS, I SAID THAT THIS INVOLVED QUESTION OF VERIFIABILITY, WHICH IN TURN WAS FUNCTION OF OUR ABILITY TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN VARIOUS CONFIGURATIONS AND TIME REQUIRED FOR A CONVERSION. I AGAIN RENEWED SUGGESTION FOR TECHNICAL TALKS TO DISCUSS THESE TWO FACTUAL MATTERS. IN RESPONSE HE SAID THAT HE WANTED FORMALLY TO GIVE ME AN OPINION OF THE SOVIET EXPERTS THAT THE SOVIETS HAD FOLLOWED DIFFERENT TECHNOLOGICAL LINE THAN U.S. IN DEVELOPING TANKERS AND, OF COURSE, BOTH SIDES COULD USE DIFFERENT APPROACHES. SOVIETS HAD USED APPROACH OF "SPECIALLY MODIFIED AIRCRAFT, DEVELOPED ONLY AS TANKERS." IN ANY EVENT, CONVERSION OF SOVIET TANKERS TO HEAVY BOMBERS WOULD BE NO LESS COMPLICATED THAN CONVERSION OF U.S. TANKERS TO HEAVY BOMBERS. (IN OTHER BILATERALS, SOVIETS SAID THAT "SPECIALLY MODIFIED" MEANT THAT AIRCRAFT HAD BEEN BUILT FROM BEGINNING AS TANKERS RATHER THAN CONVERTED FROM HEAVY BOMBERS.)

4. WE AGREED TO PRIVATE MEETING ON TUESDAY, JULY 13, TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS. NEXT PLENARY SCHEDULED FOR WEDNESDAY, JULY 14,

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